

HUMBARACI DISCUSSES LIFE AS A RUSSIAN AGENT -- Gushuriyat, No 9372 -  
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(Editorial Note: The adventures of Arslan Humbaraci are known throughout the country. Our purpose in printing his story is not to aid in defending him. However ~~in spite of publishing his story~~ it seemed to us worthwhile to publish a story on Soviet Russia from a new point of view. At the same time, it may perhaps dissuade certain youths from following in his footsteps.)

During the last world war, I was a correspondent for the American office of War Information first in Istanbul and later Ankara. Then I was a correspondent for the Chicago Tribune newspaper and later from 1946 to 1949 the Ankara correspondent for the New York Times and for the Hadot newspaper which is published in Tel Aviv.

Approximately a year ago, as the reaction to ~~the reaction to~~ "I Choose Freedom", I resigned publicly from the New York Times and left the country for the purpose of protesting the Truman doctrine, having reached an agreement to this effect with the Soviet Embassy in Ankara. My purpose was to serve the cause of Moscow. I was then convinced that I had chosen the proper course and that I would aid in the birth of social justice whose need is felt even in the most civilized countries and especially in Turkey. Less than a year's activity in the International

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Communist Movement which is directed from Moscow, served to show me my mistake and to make me perceive how the real Russian policy is hidden behind the front of World Communism. Today I am re-treating from this course because Communism demands that every Communist suppress the feelings and logic which led them to serve Communism.

Approximately 3 years ago, I told A. Issaia<sup>EV</sup>, a friend of mine and an attache of the Soviet Embassy in Ankara, that I was ready to serve Communism on condition that it was in an international field. If I am now reneging on the promise I then made it is because Russia has first broken its contract with all Communists and because it is attempting to deceive everybody by attempting to persuade them that it is working for the establishment of a real Communist regime.

Before I decided to write these lines, it was first necessary to dismiss a thought which I had: when I realized I had taken the wrong course I intended to end my activity but not to confess my mistake publicly. I do not think that the testimony of former Communists regardless of how authoritative they were has any chance to serve as an effective antidote against Soviet Communism. In fact, the anti-Soviet feeling of those making such testimonies throws them into the ranks of Fascism and condemns them to exploitation by extreme rightists. I ~~am now~~<sup>was</sup>

- 2 -

RESTRICTED

then convinced that service for Stalinism constituted the greatest virtue which a human could possess. Now I am convinced that until the various countries assure conditions of a real democratic regime, Stalinism will continue to show itself in these areas.

Among the French Communists with whom I cooperated, I had a friend who did not hesitate to express his bitter disillusionment which I felt as I progressed in the world of Stalinism. This man who was a former Communist and who, going to Russia, had been active in the first years of the new Socialist Regime confirmed the truth of the bitter fact that I had realized. He told me, "For Communists, it is an honor to be tortured by the Gostapo, but it is a tragedy to receive the same treatment from the organization to which you belong." On one occasion this friend of mine told me that he had been in Russia during the 1937 purges and that many of his friends had been shot. On one occasion I explained to him my reason for turning away from Communism: "The basic motive for this action of mine is a feeling of revolt. Actually it could be explained with the same feeling as my adherence to Communism. Just as I revolted yesterday against the preparations for war in my country, I am now revolting against the great deceit which the international policy of Soviet Russia represents. To remain silent, to remain inactive and to persist, like you are doing, is to become an accomplice to the fact."

The readers might assume that my relatively short experience in the Stalinist movement does not entitle me to talk with authority. However, my contacts with Russian agents extended over a period of

RESTRICTED

three years and I participated in events along with Communists of many years experience, I entered their cadres, and I was an active young Communist.

The Director of a large London newspaper asked me to write an article relative to how Soviet agents in Turkey had deceived me and how they had persuaded me to take a place in their ranks. In my opinion, this proposal reflects perfectly the basic error in the West's struggle against Communism. I did not become a Communist because of Soviet agents nor have I left Communism as a result of persuasion by American agents. After

RESTRICTED

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I was not dragged into this affair but rather dragged myself. In my opinion the same situation applies to the great majority of Communist intellectuals. If the Communists of the Middle East are not to fall into the same error, it is necessary that they possess many facts which the countries of the Middle and Near East forbid to their citizens, and possess the possibilities of improving their present conditions of life by democratic methods. However, the application of these possibilities to many excess conditions is vitally necessary.

It is chiefly social and economic conditions which lead people into Communism. Although I will not attempt to deny their influence, propaganda and agents are a secondary factor in this matter, and they can play a role only after the individual has chosen his course. Although this is a simple fact, it is a truth which must be repeated until it is understood by the administrators of a great many countries. Modern Turkey, which has been adopted as a model by the statesmen of almost all the Islamic World is in fact the country in which the Revolution has been betrayed. If you wish an example, this is one: I was born on the sea and grew up knowing it. If it were possible to live my life over again I would choose the Navy which is a hard but beautiful profession. When I was 15 years old I entered the Naval School on the Island of Heybeliada which is in the Marmara. Then, as now, it was claimed that

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

the Turkish Republic shelters a society and that there is no distinction of race or creed. This was the official claim. However, 3 pupils were expelled from the school on the ground that they were not pure Turks. I was one of them. The Turkish Republic did not wish to turn over its ship to officers which were not pure blooded Turks.

In 1946, when it was necessary for me to go to Greek Macedonia, in connection with my newspaper work, my heart went out to the Greek guerrillas. After spending a night at an observation post which had been established in the Kausa hills, the Chief of Staff of General Perivolitis, who was in command in this area, told me that the guerrillas had been successful in escaping into Yugoslavia due to the pouring rain and darkness. When he told me this I felt a great pleasure. In those days, the action against Kausa constituted the largest military undertaking that the rebels had attempted and in spite of the fact that this town was officially under control of the government forces, violent clashes took place in the streets. There was a rain of shells from every side. The Athens government forces were obliged to fire the houses in order to dislodge the combatants since the latter had made every house a fortified defense post.

The morale of the government units was very bad, and soldiers took refuge with the rebels in groups, throwing away their arms and blankets. I understood and appreciated the state of

RESTRICTED

-6-

RESTRICTED

mind of the soldiers. One day a prisoner, in learning that I was a member of the Anglo-Saxon press, spit on the ground with disgust and hate and I could not help but approve his action.

On my return to Istanbul I was invited to the National Security Headquarters, the office of the Turkish espionage and counter-espionage activities, which was in the center of Babiali. The National Security at the same time serves as the Secret Police. There they asked me to write a report concerning the trip I had made to Greece. I agreed and I wrote a report which coincided with the actual events as far as I could. Later I received congratulations from the General Staff's Intelligence Office in Ankara for the report. A short time later I was again invited to the National Security Headquarters in Babiali and this time putting forward my patriotism and a thousand other excuses, proposed that I write a report concerning certain individuals who were known to be partisans of Communism. I was not at all astonished at this proposal. Without losing control of myself, I told them that my conception of patriotism was far different from theirs and said that I was not uninformed <sup>of</sup> the fact that I was listed as a suspected person in the dossiers they maintained. I recommended that they apply to pure-blooded Turks in this matter and added that I would accept with pleasure the proposal to write a report again concerning Greece in the event that I visited that country again.

RESTRICTED

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From that day on I had to take into account the enmity of the National Security officials whenever I set out on a trip outside the country. This situation continued until 19 April 1949. My status as a correspondent of a foreign newspaper assured me many advantages. First of all, since I was one of the rare Turks who worked for the foreign press, many doors were opened to me readily. Even the representatives of Turkish newspapers could not obtain the facilities accorded me. Moreover, I had an opportunity to meet many press representatives from foreign countries. These generally spent all their time at the Park Hotel in Istanbul or at the Palas in Ankara. Every trip I made in Anatolia served to show me the suffering my country was undergoing and the obstacles which prevented its economic, social and political development.

I now know that I erred in trusting to the aid of the Soviets for the reform of the conditions then existing in my country. However, both the leaders of the government party and the opposition must admit that I knocked on their doors many times before I resorted to the Soviet Embassy in Ankara. I <sup>do</sup> not intend to aid in the development of the sickness which is observed in Turkey as in America and which manifests itself in the form of extreme antagonism toward the Soviet Union. This cannot be a foundation for the policy of any country. When considering the history of my relations with Soviet agents and when analysing



## RESTRICTED

the reasons which resulted in the severing of these ties, I do not hesitate to say that the policy which the Soviet Union is now following towards Turkey is identical with that followed for 250 years by the Russian Emperors. This policy is entirely anti-Turkish. When saying this I do not wish to say that my own country has always followed a policy of friendship towards Turkey either during the sultanate or during the present Republic.

A. Issaiev, a secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Ankara, was authorized to contact Turkish Communists. Issaiev was a member of the M.R.P. and although he did not speak French or English he did speak perfect Turkish as do the majority of Soviet diplomats in Turkey. One evening while I was visiting him, I mentioned the possibilities and necessity of developing a Communist movement in Turkey, whereupon Issaiev, not seeing any reason to hide his feelings, stated, "The Turkish Communists are a bunch of dopes who do not know what they are doing. They are not worth losing time over." When I said that I did not consider it possible for Turkey to advance towards Communism without creating a basic organization or nucleus composed of active Communists, the Soviet diplomat laughed and said that there were many things that I still had to learn. This conversation took place toward the end of 1946. Since the Turkish Communist Party had met with failure in its attempts to become active throughout the country under the guide of the Socialist Party, the Russians were considerably distressed.

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RESTRICTED

There is nothing surprising in the fact that the Turkish Communist Party activity was not successful. The moment that the leaders returned from Moscow (Mustafa Samimi was among them), they were arrested by the Secret Police Organisation and the Turkish Communist Party which was completely broken up, because it was obliged to work in a country which had no organisation worthy of the name of the working class, was unable to create a miracle. Because the Party was unable to show any positive activity, it was expelled from the Cominform.

This was not the only reason why Moscow did not have confidence in the Turkish Communist Party. Another reason was the fact that among the few Communists in Turkey there were very few recognised as loyal to Moscow. The Russians also complained that the Turkish Communists refrained from entering into very close relations with Soviet agents. One Turkish Communist told me one day, "We must create a strong Communist movement regardless of the cost, because when the Russians come, they will attempt to arrange the movement according to their desires and there will be nothing left for us to do." At that time I thought that my friend has been carried away by the extreme nationalism which is common to Turks, but now I have changed my opinion on this matter.

The Communist plan for Turkey was this: The country would be subjected to a military occupation. Large-scale purge measures

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RESTRICTED

-10-

RESTRICTED

would be applied similar to those applied in the Caucasus, the country would be divided and would be turned over to the Administration of Turks who would be brought from the Soviet Union. Moscow relied for the application of this plan on the collapse of Turkey from the economic and social point of view.

While talking one day with a member of the Soviet Embassy in Ankara, I pointed out that the Kurds, Armenians and Turks had all committed serious crimes against the other and that while the basic responsibility for this rested with the Turks, it was necessary to find a solution to this problem. This man interrupted me and said that the problem would never be settled thusly and that the Kurds and Armenians would one day demand an accounting from Turkey. Later when I became active in the organization which the Communist Party had established in Paris, I had an opportunity to view at first hand the negative and even hostile feelings which the Kurdish and Armenian Communist organizations nourished against our group and at that time I recall<sup>ed</sup> the conversation I have related above. The Russians are taking advantage of the bitter memories which the Ottoman yoke has left in the Middle East and the Balkans and are using these anti-Turkish sentiments as a tool for their own politics. I observed this especially among the Bulgarians, Kurds, Armenians and Syrians.

-11-

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

One Turkish Communist friend of mine, who is blindly loyal to Moscow, went to Bulgaria in December of 1949 to attend a Congress and to speak on the radio. When he returned, he said that the situation in Bulgaria had left a bad impression on him, but the point which had caused his greatest astonishment was the reception prepared for one of the few Turkish Communists who had visited that country. He told me, "The queerest point was due to the fact that they still do not love us and that they do not appreciate the efforts that we are expending in spite of our meager facilities." These words are significant. The technical aid promised him by the Bulgarians was only 50 % fulfilled. The reason is that the Bulgarians do not wish to aid any Communist movement which might become independent. The Bulgarian, Kurdish and Armenian Stalinists will aid in the formation of a Communist organization in our country only after they see Turkey under the occupation of the Red Army.

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

My experience as an active Communist showed me quite clearly the difference between the situation which the Turkish Communists wished to bring about through the aid of the Soviet Union and the actual intentions of that state. In this connection I should mention the Russian demands on Turkey. As is known, these demands, which were brought up by two Georgian professors in 1945, were the annexation to Armenia of the provinces Kars and Ardahan and the cession to Soviet Georgia of the provinces of Artvin, Giresun, Trabzon, Gumusane, and a part of Erzurum. I, like many of my Turkish colleagues, am convinced that these demands are an obstacle to the establishments of normal relations between Turkey and Soviet Russia and to the organization of a healthy, vigorous, Turkish Communist Party. At first we thought that these demands were only part of the Russian game and that the Soviets would demand nothing more of Turkey than certain unimportant rectifications of the border area. In fact, Soviet diplomats repeated this opinion to various Turkish political personages on various occasions and it should be noted that these requests were never supported officially.

I found the opportunity to work to achieve my purpose which was the publication of an official statement by Russia to the effect that Soviet Russia had no territorial demands to make of Turkey. However, all my efforts were in vain.

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

J. Ruhadse, the Ankara correspondent for the Tass Agency, served as a postal box for me for more than a year. I was able to see this man easily in both Istanbul and Ankara. He would inform the embassy of whatever we discussed and when these were considered important -- If I was then in Ankara, -- I would be invited to the legation. If I were in Istanbul, communication was assured by means of a special courier whom even Ruhadse did not know. These precautionary measures were indispensable to me because I was rather well known. Had I gone to the Soviet Embassy frequently, it would have attracted attention in a small city like Ankara which is not favorable for secret activity. In fact, no Turk dares go there regardless of how high a position he holds. However, the fact that I was a correspondent for foreign newspapers gave me a reason for visits of this type. However, whenever it was necessary to talk with Issai<sup>ev</sup> or Kiklev through Ruhadse, we usually chose to meet in some place other than the Embassy. My working arrangements with Ruhadse were very systematic. We never asked the other any unnecessary or extraneous questions. I never saw Ruhadse alone. There was always an observer at his side who was always present at our interviews although he never took part in them. The rare visits he made to me were prearranged and when the time to depart arrived he never hesitated a minute.

The period between October 1947 and May 1948 <sup>seem</sup> like the most favorable time for a rapprochement between Turkey and Soviet Russia because of the economic and especially the political conditions then prevailing in Turkey. Actually this rapprochement just

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

missed becoming a fact. After the appointment of Lavritchev as Soviet Ambassador to Ankara, there were many indications that the Russians were attempting to straighten out their relations with Turkey. In fact, towards the middle of April 1948, the Russians, through me, openly indicated their intentions to enter into semi-official and secret negotiations. The Turks knew very well that countries could play the role of an armed nation only at the cost of the resigning themselves to a collapse in the economic field. In spite of this they cut off the negotiations. I was very bitter at the official attitude adopted by the government at that time, although much later I learned that the Russians had hoped to bring Turkey to its knees without sacrificing any of its territorial requests. However, every Turkish leader, whether in the government or in the opposition, was determined to maintain the country's territorial integrity.

In early 1949, Kiklev proposed that I become a spy for Moscow inasmuch as I frequently visited politicians and even military men who possessed influence both in Turkey and in other countries. While I believed that intelligence activity was as important and honorable as any other task, I did not accept his proposal because 8 months work in the International Communist Movement had completely destroyed my faith in Moscow. Towards the end of March 1949 I left Ankara not to return again.

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

During the entire trip to Istanbul, a member of the Security Police was stationed in the car to watch me. This somewhat surprised me since previously they had been ~~intend~~<sup>content</sup> to follow me to a station and then telephone ahead to Istanbul and have someone meet the train there. A few days before my departure from Ankara, I talked with Kiklev again. He had received the necessary permission for a visit and gave me the passwords which would enable me to get in contact with employees of the Soviet Embassies in London and Paris. He told me at that time that Moscow did not wish me to leave Turkey but to stay and work there. However, I was determined to leave and I rejected this new proposal. After I left Turkey in April 1949, I visited London, Paris, Budapest and Rome. I attended meetings arranged by various organizations but all in accordance with the same orders -- the World Congress of the Partisans of Peace, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Students Union, the International Journalists organization and so forth. I was able to obtain a living permit in order to remain in France until such time as I went to Moscow, since I was officially recognized as the correspondent of the New Central European Observer, which is published in London as the organ of the Prague government.

One never knows under what form duty or capacity employees of the M.<sup>V.P.</sup>~~A.A.~~ organization may be asked. In Ankara, Issaiev<sup>X</sup> performed this duty. In London I met Nikitev, Tass Agency

RESTRICTED



RESTRICTED

Director. In Paris Avilev, a member of the Soviet Embassy Staff, represented the M.V.D. I do not know what position this man occupied in the diplomatic world. That has no importance.

At this point I should like to speak of the Partisans of Peace and the World Federation of Democratic Youth, which were the two large organizations devoted to hunting down naive persons who might be converted to Communism. The basic role of this type of Cominform organization is to support activities in which Communists participate in order to win over the masses of people in situations where direct participation by the Communist Party would not produce good results. There is no doubt that the more important and more subtle of the two organizations was that which was called the Partisans of Peace. Its aim was to ensure the domination of the other side through disarmament. I feel that I am qualified to speak about this organization since from 1 July until 28 December 1949, when I was expelled from the organization, I was a member of the Permanent Committee of the Partisans of Peace. This organization, which gave orders to workers, intellectuals, soldiers, and family women, to prevent in the name of peace, the unloading of war materiel which America had sent to Europe, has its headquarters on the Champs Elysee and received its orders from Moscow through a Russian Embassy. These orders, until the middle of March of this year, were given to Jean Lafitte, secretary general of the organization.

RESTRICTED

## RESTRICTED

through A. Korneitchouk, a Soviet National. Lafitte, it may be mentioned, is a man who possesses the full confidence of Moscow. The liaison between the organization and the Soviet Embassy by means of Korneitchouk was finally ended when the French Government refused to renew the latter's living permit. Korneitchouk was not well known in Paris. However, this man is a famous author in Soviet Russia and achieved fame as chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine.

For those in the technical field and who were only partially acquainted with affairs, Korneitchouk served as Lafitte's secretary. He was charged with forwarding to Lafitte the instructions of A. Fadd<sup>EEV</sup>er, another Soviet writer and a vice-president of the Committee of the Partisans of Peace. A go-between between Fadd<sup>EEV</sup>er and Lafitte was necessary since Fadd<sup>EEV</sup>er did not live in Paris and consequently could not participate in the meetings which the Committee of the Partisans of Peace held from time to time.

The Rome Partisans of Peace Congress which was held in October 1949 passed numerous resolutions in connection with the outlawing of the American Atom Bomb. This Congress was dominated by Fadd<sup>EEV</sup>er although the general public was not informed of this inasmuch as the meetings had been held secretly in the building of the Italian General Labor Federation. The task of preparing

RESTRICTED

## RESTRICTED

the announcements to be given to the Press, was entrusted to Remembve Jawenel. Strikes occurred in Calabria during the meeting of the Peace Congress. The Italian Communist Party arranged these strikes for certain specific movements. There was a great rivalry between the French and Italian Communist Parties, and Italy wanted to achieve greater prestige in Moscow's eyes, especially since the French Communists had achieved only a fiasco in their coal strike. Consequently the Italian Communist Party felt it would be ~~to~~ to their advantage to have a peasant revolt occur in Calabria. I do not mean to imply that no soil issue existed. <sup>11</sup> During the Rome Congress of the Partisans of Peace, I had an opportunity to meet Illya Ehrenburg. I was collecting signatures from members of the Congress for the purpose of delivering Nazim Hikmet from jail. The petition was to ~~him~~ be given later to UNESCO. The Russians had not yet signed the petition and I refrained from insisting that they do so. Once when Eringer came to where I was sitting I gave him the petition and asked him to sign it when he had time. That was the last I saw of the petition. When I asked Ehrinburg to return it he expressed astonishment and asked "What petition?" Nothing I could do was effective in forcing him to return the petition to me.

What was the meaning of this action? I can suggest two reasons: That Russian delegates do not have the authority to sign any such petition regardless of how high a position they may hold in the Soviet. Secondly, the Russians do not wish to sup-

RESTRICTED

-17-

RESTRICTED

port an undertaking aimed at the favor of Masim Hikmet, whom they accused of deviating towards Nationalism. In any case, they refused completely to have anything to do with the Hikmet petition. I was finally expelled from membership in the Partisans of Peace on the charge of sabotage. Actually, my sabotage consisted of voting against a proposal made by the Russians at the World Congress. According to the Stalinists, anyone who objects to anything proposed by the Russians, is committing sabotage and I was consequently haled before the Disciplinary Committee. It was obvious that they had already made up their minds that I was guilty and they did, in fact, prevent me from speaking in my own behalf. Fortunately for me, the "trial" was held in Rome. Had it been behind the iron curtain, I am sure that I would never have lived to write this article.

Actually there is no such thing as Communism in the world today. There is only a Russian policy. It is because of this important difference that the Communist movement is endangered at every corner of the world. Because Stalin Communism is much more frightening than capitalism. The Communist Parties in Europe are gradually becoming weaker as increasing numbers of workers and intellectuals abandon the Party. No doubt these defectors will be called traitors or agents of imperialism, just as Tito, Rajk, and Mostov have been charged with these crimes.

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